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at every step and the substitution for it of the ethical process." The evolution of patriotism, then, is a moral thing, and morality is man-made. We are men, but we can be supermen. We are patriots of a nation. We can be patriots of the world.

The evolution of patriotism is no theorist's dream. It is a palpable fact. The patriot of one age may be the scoundrel of the next. A turn of the kaleidoscope and Paul the convict trades places with Nero the emperor. Who was the ideal ancient patriot? The statesman, Pericles? The thinker, Plato? No. The most efficient murderer, a Macedonian boy. "I must civilize," he says. So he starts into his neighbor's country with forty thousand fighters at his back. Does Persia yield its banner? No? Then crush it. Does Thebes resist? Then burn it to the ground. Do the women prate of freedom? Load them with slave chains. What? Do they still hold out? Then slaughter the swine. And as men watch him wading through seas of blood, riding rough shod over prostrate lives and dead hopes and shattered empires, the blind age cries out, "O, Godlike Alexander!"

"Godlike!" Oh, but there's new meaning in that word today. How much nobler a picture our modern patriot presents! Not waving the brand of destruction, not a king of murder will you find the great patriot of today. His thunderbolt of conquest was a host of righteousness. His empire was built in the hearts of men. In the teeming slums of the world's greatest city he lifted the standard of the Christ. Haggard children stretched out hands for bread. He fed them with his last crust. Thousands were dying in the city's filth. He pointed them to a more Beautiful City, where pain should be no more. And when the body of William Booth was borne through the silent throngs of London streets a million heads were bowed in reverence to this patriot of a purer day. In every hamlet of civilization some heart called him godlike.

Is not the trend of patriotism clear? Are not the seeds of a new world loyalty already in our soul? The trumpet-call to war can never rouse this newer patriotism. The summons, "Peace on earth and good-will to men"—that is the future bugle-call. And for us the task is clear. To take our destiny into our own hands, to throw off the prejudices of nationalism, to turn our faces resolutely to the future and strive for that summit of brotherhood and universal peace, that

"One far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves."

Justice the Basis of International Peace.

By Felix Adler, Ph. D.

Address at Mohonk Lake, May 16, 1913.

A Universal Races Congress was held in London two years ago. This congress was notable for the participation of eminent, practical statesmen. Sir Charles Dilke contributed a paper finished just before his death. Sir Sydney Olivier, governor of Jamaica, and Sir Charles Bruce, late governor of Mauritius, were prominent. Every European nation was represented—Hindus in large numbers, South Africans, West Indians, etc.

As a result, a permanent executive council was created in order to carry out the objects for which the congress had assembled. Of this council Lord Weardale is president, and as one of the American members I have been asked to give an account of its aims. Among these the following may be mentioned:

To promote a better appreciation on the part of each nation of such types of culture and civilization as differ from its own. Men do not willingly destroy what they admire. The destructive instincts which lead one nation to make war upon another may be weakened by promoting and understanding the art, the science, and, in general, the human values enshrined in foreign peoples.

To this end a popular literature of appreciation is to be widely disseminated—appreciations of Germany in England, of England in Germany, etc. Also there are to be exchange visits by the school teachers of different nations, since they directly influence the next generations. There have been exchange visits of parliamentarians, journalists, and professors. It is proposed to go a step beyond all this in the direction indicated.

2. To encourage the scientific study of the races and their special problems.

3. To promote experiments after the manner of the Batak Institution at Leiden, based on the principle that the backward races, instead of being exploited for the benefit of Europeans and Americans, are to be assisted in the development of a civilization of their own, in accordance with their natural opportunities and capacities.

One prominent statesman urged that European nations would benefit by humane more than by inhumane methods. It was exploitation still, by humane methods, to be assisted in the development of a civilization of their own in accordance with their natural opportunities and capacities. This is the point of my paper on which I wish chiefly to dwell. A new organ for the promotion of universal peace, supplementary to the Hague Tribunal, is to be created—a publicity bureau on a very wide scale, intended to secure the fairest hearing in the forum of the world's public opinion for the wrongs of oppressed subject nationalities within the sovereign nations.

This last point necessitates that I should take up the subject which I have announced—justice as the basis of peace. The conclusion which I wish to present, and which I place at the head and front of my paper, is entirely coincident with what President Eliot in his wisdom of utterance said to us this evening, namely, that an appeal to sentiment, the descriptions of cruelties of war, will not check the passions. Passion is ruthless and reckless, and, being violent, seeks an outlet in violence. Passion must be forestalled. Once aroused, it is as vain to try and prevent war and bloodshed as it would be to try and restrain Niagara at the brink of the cataract.

And the appeal to the pocket-book will not defeat those who are reckless of possession of material goods, nor those more limited groups who find in the midst of war it is not only the laws that are silent, but the guardians of righteousness that are apt to be off their guard. There are those who find it practicable that war should be. In my opinion, there is too much emphasis put on the sentimental appeal and the appeal to the pocket-book. I must admit, also, that I have lost something of my optimistic faith in the possibility of

putting an end to war in the very near future, though I have lost not a bit of my pluck, and am as earnest in putting in every inch of strength available on the side that seeks to put an end to war. My optimistic faith has been somewhat diminished, for the reason that I observe the coincidence of the two movements. I find that the peace and the war movements increase in intensity; they run parallel; that the same people often who are preaching peace are earnest and foremost in promoting war. I ask myself what are the causes?

You have such an admirable recital of the causes and remedies in the first paper of the evening, I shall ask your leave to call attention to only one or two.

I believe the *tedium vitae* is one cause. Life for the majority of men is so somber and gray, and any excitement is welcome. I think the desire or the need of an outlet for surplus population is one of the great causes; so is economic rivalry for distant colonial markets.

But I think there is another cause, and that is that we are not beginning fair. The world is in such a situation that we can say to the nations, Let us cease accretion. The present situation is the result of accretion, the result of wrongs—recent or very recent, or at least not so far distant in the past—wrongs that still rancor in the conscience of the present generation. Our friends, the Poles, would not be very happy in studying the geographical distribution or dismemberment of the country for which they have not yet, after all these years, lost their patriotic resentment. Then there is the fact that England has taken possession of all the corner lots on the globe, and that there are nations that once were great mercantile powers before England had achieved its power on the waters who seek their right to live and to grow and to expand. I call your attention sharply to these points. Now let there be no accretion from this moment on; what does that mean but to ratify accretion of today, unless we remember a very quiet word which Dr. Eliot introduced, and to which I listened with intense attention—the very quiet phrase that means so much: "Territorial Rectification." I ask you to realize the immensity of the problem, looking that fact in the face, and don't be harping on these sentimental and pecuniary aspects—those which make the problem appear small. It is a terribly complex and difficult problem.

Now as to the outlook. The Hague Tribunal has the one defect—that it consists chiefly of lawyers. I should like to see there men of affairs, men of judgment, men of experience. The legal mind inevitably is more or less prone to follow laws and precedent; and in the case of a national tribunal a certain flexibility is desirable, which has not become the virtue of those who have been trained in the legal method of adjudicating disputes. My main point is this: that there needs to be at the disposal of that great court of justice a great force. I do not believe that a police force selected by the different nations or deputed will overawe those great powers who are disposed to do wrong. The most serious factor in the situation is that the great powers of Europe, as we have seen in Persia, are disposed to do or to allow wrong—that they will knowingly and defiantly transgress justice. And the remedy is not by a police force that represents a few of the more prominent of these selfish powers. We have had the principle of national selfishness proclaimed in the Senate of the United States

by one of the most distinguished members of that body, *i. e.*, that morality is the law of individuals and selfishness the law of collectivity. No police will check these wrongdoers or serve the purpose of a tribunal. The only force to do that must be a cross-section through all the civilized nations, all the moral forces; a public opinion in favor of—not peace at any price; a protest, not against cruelty and not against waste, but a public opinion protesting that nations shall not do wrong.

A Multitude of Peace Ambassadors.

By Rev. A. Eugene Bartlett, D. D.

The truth about America must be made known to the average European if we are to prevent war, establish a permanent tribunal at the Hague, and develop a world law.

On a Mediterranean boat we met a little Neapolitan lady who was going home to Italy, joyous in the thought that she would be able to tell her friends and neighbors about America. She had spent two weeks in New York city and one in New Haven! One night at a little inn in Rouen we found two Englishmen trying to tell the Frenchmen and the few Americans what America was like. The notions which those Englishmen were obstreperously putting forward were such that we began to fear for their own safety. Their thought of America may have been true in a few instances in 1812, but it was not true in 1912.

What opinion of America does the average European hold? Every year some men of letters come here and take a hurried look at our cities and institutions, and write a book about America. One such traveler has recently declared that Chicago is a quiet city, and another has said it is a clean city. These superficial opinions amuse our citizens, but do little in the way of educating sentiment in Europe. A David Starr Jordan or a Nicholas Murray Butler goes to Europe in the interests of peace, and meets leading scholars and statesmen, themselves more or less Anglicized; but these special emissaries are looked upon, even as they are, as exceptional men, by the Europeans who meet them.

It is of primary importance to the peace movement that the men of Europe, the rank and file of them, and even so the men of the Orient, should have the right ideas concerning America. They must know something of our institutions, and they must appreciate our spirit and come to believe in our integrity and our desire for brotherhood. Shortly, whether there shall be war or peace, will be determined not by kings, but by the people. In the near future the farmer in the field, the artisan in the shop—yes, the mother in the home—will have a word to say as to whether war or peace shall prevail. "Nobody who really knows the American people can ever doubt that their sentiments are thoroughly friendly toward us," said Prince Tokugara, President of the Japanese House of Peers, at a dinner in Tokyo given to Mr. Hamilton Holt and Mr. Lindsey Russell a little over a year ago. Just here is the real difficulty—the people do not for the most part really know the American people. The rulers, the financiers, the heads of universities appreciate to a considerable extent the genius and spirit of the American people, but the average man and woman are still woefully ignorant.

Not only in Spain, but even in England and Ger-